

## Message Text

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ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-08 NEA-07 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01  
/033 W

-----109645 300824Z /15

R 300723Z AUG 77  
FM AMEMBASSY AMMAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2994  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 AMMAN 6167

ATHENS FOR CODEL PELL (MR. CHRISTIANSON)

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PGOV, PBOR, JO, US, XF, OREP (CODEL PELL)  
SUBJECT: CODEL PELL: CONVERSATIONS IN AMMAN

SUMMARY: CODEL PELL MET WITH CROWN PRINCE HASSAN, FORMER PRIME MINISTER RIFAI, AND MINISTER OF INFORMATION ABU ODEH FOR BILATERAL CONVERSATIONS DURING 24-HOUR VISIT TO AMMAN. SENATOR VISITED REFUGEE CAMP AREA INCORPORATED INTO AMMAN CITY AND SPOKE WITH SEVERAL MUKHTARS. SENATOR ALSO HAD CONVERSATIONS WITH A NUMBER OF JORDANIANS INTERESTED IN WEST BANK AFFAIRS WHO ATTENDED AMBASSADOR'S DINNER AND DISCUSSED WITH EMBASSY STAFF MEMBERS AT LUNCH AREA SITUATION AND FOREIGN SERVICE PROBLEMS. END SUMMARY

1. FOLLOWING BRIDGE CROSSING, SENATOR AND FOREIGN POLICY ASSISTANT CHRISTIANSON, ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR, MET WITH CROWN PRINCE HASSAN. CONVERSATION FOCUSED ON WEST BANK, PALESTINIANS IN JORDAN, AND FUTURE POSSIBILITIES FOR PEACE ARRANGEMENTS IN THE AREA. HASSAN PRESENTED LONG OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE PALESTINIAN  
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PROBLEM. HE INDICATED THAT JORDAN FEARS RECENT ISRAELI "EQUALIZATION" ACTIVITIES WILL ACTUALLY BE USED, THROUGH HIGHER TAX RATES, TO FORCE WEST BANKERS OVER THE BRIDGES TO JORDAN. SENATOR INQUIRED ABOUT ISRAELI NARROW LAND NECK IF WEST BANK RETURNED AND WHAT COULD BE DONE ABOUT IT. HASSAN EMPHASIZED

PEACE WAS A STATE OF MIND, THAT WEST BANK COULD BE DEMILITARIZED, AND THAT MODERN WEAPONS MADE TERRITORY IN CONNECTION WITH DEFENSE LESS AND LESS RELEVANT. HASSAN ALSO, WHEN ASKED ABOUT ALON PLAN, SAID HE DID NOT BELIEVE IT OPENED THE WAY FOR SOLUTION, THAT JORDAN COULD NOT ACCEPT IT AND RETAIN ARAB CREDIBILITY, THAT VERY FEW ARABS WOULD ACCEPT IT, AND THAT BETTER WAYS COULD BE FOUND TO PROVIDE FOR ISRAELI SECURITY.

2. HASSAN ALSO EMPHASIZED JORDANIAN COMMITMENT TO SELF-DETERMINATION OF WEST BANKERS AND STRONG FEELING THAT A GREAT DEAL OF SUCCESS FOR THE FUTURE REMAINED TIED TO ROLE U.S. AND PRESIDENT CARTER PERSONALLY ABLE AND PREPARED TO PLAY. HASSAN EMPHASIZED JORDAN PREPARED FOR RECIPROCAL MINOR BORDER RECTIFICATIONS AND THAT RECIPROCITY COULD TAKE FORM OF RIGHTS TO USE ISRAELI PORTS AND AIRPORTS. WHEN ASKED ABOUT WEST BANK ATTITUDES TO JORDAN AND PLO, HASSAN EMPHASIZED "BAROMETRIC" NATURE OF WEST BANK PEOPLE UNDER OCCUPATION AND SAID ALLOWANCES SHOULD BE MADE FOR ECCENTRICITY PRODUCED BY OCCUPATION. RECENTLY BOTH CONSERVATIVE WEST BANKERS AND YOUNGER PROFESSIONAL MEN  
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HAD SOUGHT OUT JORDAN. HE DISCUSSED WEST BANK ECONOMY AND CONCLUDED THAT IN SPITE OF LACK OF ISRAELI EFFORTS TO DEVELOP IT, WITH SOME OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE IT COULD BE MADE A VERY PRODUCTIVE AREA. HE CONCLUDED BY EMPHASIZING JORDANIAN ANNUAL CONTRIBUTION TO MAINTAINING REFUGEES AND BRIEFING SENATOR ON JORDAN VALLEY DEVELOPMENT PLANS.

3. IN MEETING WITH MINISTER OF INFORMATION ABU ODEH, HE SKETCHED OUT FOR SENATOR SOME OF THE SAME CONCERNS MENTIONED BY CROWN PRINCE HASSAN. HE NOTED THAT ARABS SAW BEGIN'S EQUALIZATION AND SETTLEMENT STEPS AS TESTS FOR PRESIDENT CARTER AND AS DANGEROUS TO JORDAN BECAUSE HE FEARED THEY WOULD LEAD TO PUSHING THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE (AND PROBLEM) OVER TO THE EAST BANK. THIS WAS PARTICULARLY TRUE NOW THAT EAST BANK HAD MORE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES AND WAS A GATEWAY TO JOBS IN THE ARAB OIL STATES. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS INDICATING ISRAELI SECURITY CONCERNS WOULD HAVE TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT, ABU ODEH

RESPONDED THAT ISRAELIS SHOULD BE SPECIFIC ABOUT THEIR CONCERNS. PEACE WOULD INVOLVE AN ENTIRELY NEW SET OF ARAB ATTITUDES. INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES AND POLICE FORCES AND EVEN THE PRESENCE OF ISRAELI OBSERVERS IN A DEMILITARIZED WEST BANK WOULD SOLVE THE PROBLEM. SOVEREIGNTY AND AN INTERNATIONAL IDENTITY WERE IMPORTANT ISSUES FOR THE PALESTINIANS. JORDAN DID NOT COVET CONTROL OF THE WEST BANK, FAVORED SELF-DETERMINATION, BUT WAS PREPARED ACCORDING TO THE RESULTS OF AN ACT OF SELF-DETERMINATION TO PLAY A PART IN A FUTURE NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH THE WEST BANK.

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ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-08 NEA-07 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01  
/033 W

-----109687 300831Z /15

R 300723Z AUG 77  
FM AMEMBASSY AMMAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2995  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 AMMAN 6167

ATHENS FOR CODEL PELL (MR. CHRISTIANSON)

4. IN WHAT THE SENATOR LATER CHARACTERIZED AS HIS MOST INTERESTING TALK IN AMMAN, HE SPENT AN HOUR WITH FORMER PRIME MINISTER ZAID RIFAI. RIFAI NOTED THAT SITUATION SEEMS COMPLEX AND HAS TO BE REDUCED TO ITS SIMPLEST FORMS TO BE CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD. HE SAID KEY WAS ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL, AND KEY TO ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL WAS THE ROLE OF THE U.S. AND PRESIDENT CARTER. HE WAS NOT TOO WORRIED ABOUT LACK OF U.S. REACTION TO EQUALIZATION MEASURES OR SETTLEMENT, RECOGNIZING THAT GETTING THE ISRAELIS TO WITHDRAW WOULD BE THE CRUCIAL AND ONLY IMPORTANT TEST. RIFAI SKETCHED IN LUCID DETAIL, HIS OWN VIEW OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROBLEM OVER THE YEARS. HE PUT STRESS ON THE FACT THAT ISRAELI VICTORY IN AND ARAB LOSS OF WAR IN 1967 HAD EARNED FOR ISRAELIS THE RIGHT OF ARAB

RECOGNITION WHICH MODERATE ARAB LEADERS NOW EXTENDED TO THEM. FAILURE TO DEVELOP CURRENT PEACE EFFORTS IN RIFAI'S VIEW WILL LEAD TO DEMISE OF THE MODERATE LEADERS AND A RADICALIZATION OF THE ARAB STATES. THIS MAY BE THE ONLY, INDEED THE LAST CHANCE, FOR PEACE TO SUCCEED.

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5. WHEN ASKED ABOUT PLO DECISION ON 242, RIFAI OFFERED INTERESTING ASSESSMENT. WHILE HE DID NOT YET HAVE DETAILS WHICH AMMAN PLO PARTICIPANTS WOULD SHORTLY BRING HIM OF PCC MEETING IN DAMASCUS, HE THOUGHT DECISION APPEARED RATHER FINAL. IF THAT WERE THE CASE, HE SAW ONLY THREE OPTIONS FOR THE U.S. FOR THE FUTURE. THE FIRST WAS FOR THE PRESIDENT TO PUT THE BLAME ON THE PLO AND BACK OUT OF CURRENT PEACE EFFORTS. THIS WOULD SOLVE NOTHING AND WOULD LEAVE ALL THE FUTURE PROBLEMS (RADICALIZATION OF THE ARABS, CONFLICT, ETC.) STILL BEFORE THE U.S. HE DID NOT BELIEVE THE PRESIDENT WOULD TAKE THIS COURSE. THE SECOND OPTION WOULD BE FOR THE U.S. TO ACCEPT CHANGES IN 242 WHICH WOULD MEET PLO DEMANDS FOR U.S. RECOGNITION OF SUCH ISSUES FOR THEM AS THE RIGHT TO AN INDEPENDENT STATE. HE DID NOT BELIEVE PRESIDENT CARTER WOULD ACCEPT THIS COURSE. THE THIRD OPTION WOULD BE TO GO AHEAD TO GENEVA WITHOUT THE PLO. HE THOUGHT EGYPT, BACKED BY SAUDI ARABIA, WOULD DO THIS. JORDAN WOULD HAVE A DIFFICULT DECISION TO MAKE BUT HE IMPLIED IT WOULD FOLLOW EGYPT AND SAUDI ARABIA. SYRIANS WOULD NOT DO SO AND WOULD FORM WITH THE PLO AND POSSIBLY IRAQ, ALGERIA AND LIBYA, A NEW RADICAL BLOCK. JORDAN WOULD DO WHAT IT COULD TO HELP WITH SYRIA AND RIFAI BELIEVED IT COULD DO A GREAT DEAL. HOWEVER, HE REMAINED CONCERNED THAT PLO INTRANSIGENCE WOULD SPLIT THE ARAB STATES, RADICALIZE THE SITUATION, AND LEAVE SYRIA-- THE KEY STATE IN THE PROCESS--ON THE SIDELINES. RIFAI ALSO COMMENTED IN PASSING THAT FROM WHAT

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HE HAD SEEN UP UNTIL NOW SECRETARY VANCE'S TRIP HAD FOCUSED TOO MUCH CONSULTATION ON PRO-

CEDURAL PRELIMINARIES, SUCH AS WHO REPRESENTS  
THE PLO, AND NOT SPENT ENOUGH TIME ON THE BASIC  
SUBSTANTIVE QUESTIONS.

6. ABOVE HAS NOT BEEN SEEN BY CODEL AND IS SUBJECT TO ITS COMMENT.

7. RECOMMEND DEPARTMENT, IF CODEL AGREES, REPEAT CAIRO, DAMASCUS,  
JERUSALEM, AND TEL AVIV.  
PICKERING

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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** PGOV, PBOR, OREP, JO, US, XF, (PELL, CLAIBOURNE), (HASSAN, CROWN PRINCE),  
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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009